19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (naǧǧār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥašwān of the Āl Bā Ḥašwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian taśt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥaḳḳ al-salīṭ, ḥaḳḳ al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. ANDREE, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 367-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my art. in *Le Muséon* cited above.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly, you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so, you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing, for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl says : —

Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-wakkār
Li šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.

Come ask about the stone worker
Who to the stones bears his hammer
Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḥīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tārīm, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳūān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeological site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

[10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Buckhill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirā franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Piprowes, *'Im'adiya and Bedhan, Adan, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name العادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.